BRUCE CATTON REVIEWS ICKES'S "SECRET DIARY"

THE Nation

December 26, 1953

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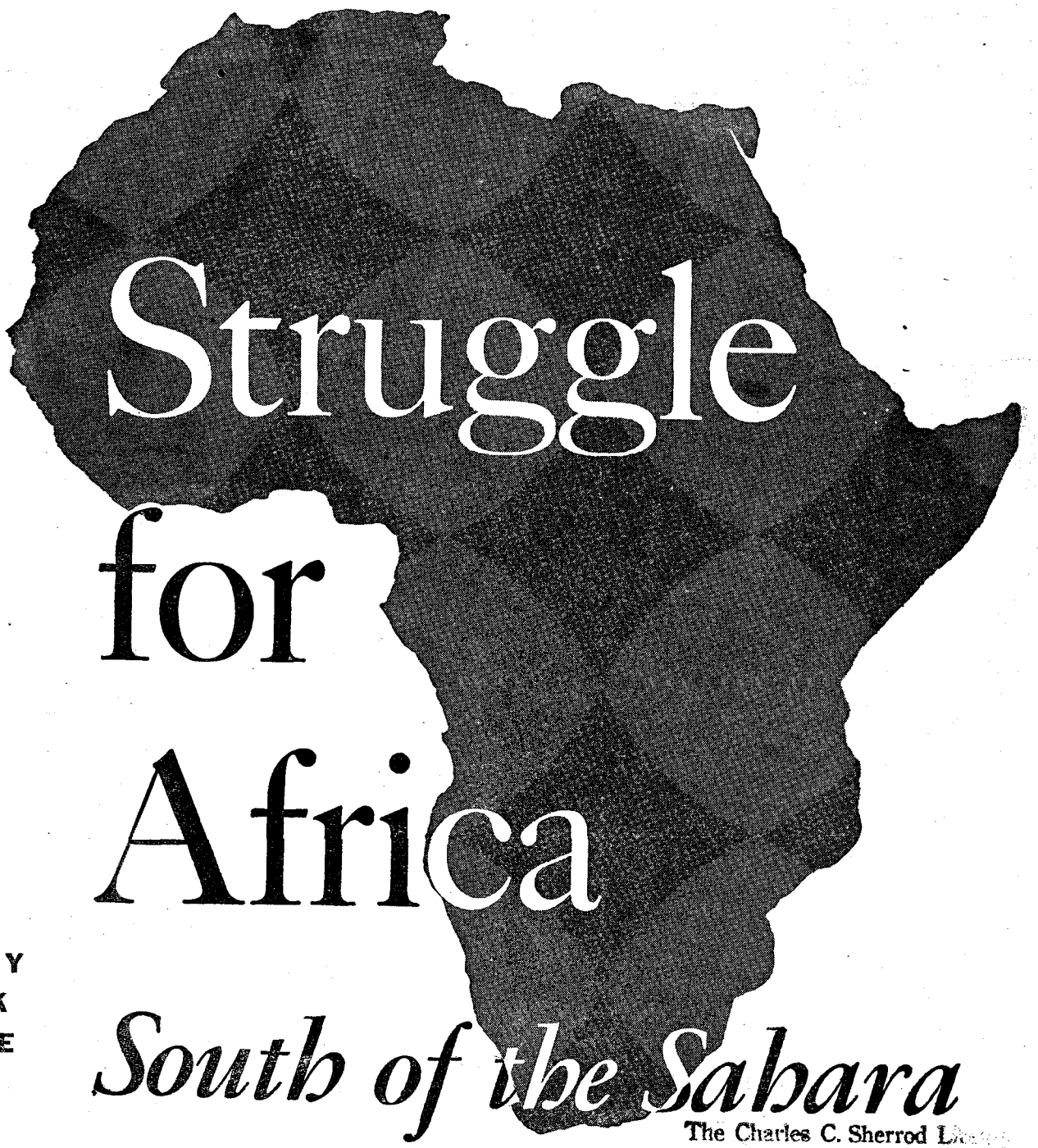

Struggle for Africa

South of the Sahara

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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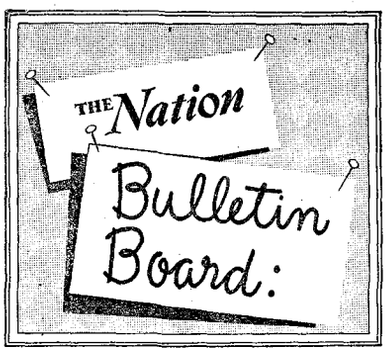


ALONG about last July, when the Dodgers and Yankees were busy wrapping up the pennants in their respective leagues and most people were thinking about vacations gone and to come, the planning of our special civil-liberties issue got under way. Editorial Director Carey McWilliams, an authority in the field—his book "Witch Hunt" is even more timely today than when it came out in 1950—started the ball rolling with a preliminary outline. After the rest of the staff had mulled over the outline—and written copious comments—the skeleton began to take on some flesh.

Then came the difficult job of reducing general ideas to specific articles and specific authors. This involved an awesome amount of correspondence with upward of 150 writers and experts to find out which were available and could have pieces ready in time for the issue. Since writers are a verbose tribe, a substantial number of letter were just devoted to clarifying what was in the editors' minds—and in the writers'.

After this phase of the operation was finished, the manuscripts started coming in—more, unfortunately, than could eventually be put into the issue. However, some outstanding articles which had to be omitted will appear in later issues, since the problem of civil liberties is more than a week-long affair.

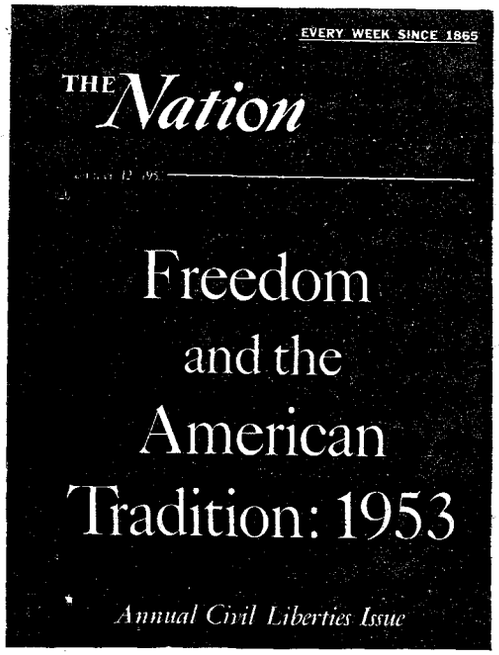
Once the manuscripts were in, it was all over—all but the editing, layout, printing, distribution—and then the reading by *Nation* people.

A few days after the issue appeared, scores of letters began to come into the office with comments on its contents—and bundle orders (see ad on this page for details). One of the writers said: "It was a tremendous lift for me to get *The Nation's* civil-liberties issue. I read almost the whole of it in one evening, and it embodied some of the finest thinking I've seen anywhere on civil liberties. The statements from people like Herbert Lehman and Margaret Chase Smith were particularly heartening. *The Nation* is the only liberal publication in America with the courage and the intellectual vigor capable of delivering such a solid blow for freedom. Please send me twenty-five extra copies of the issue. I've got some friends who could benefit from reading it."

NATION READERS seem to like the idea of the new book club—announced in the civil-liberties issue. The orders have been coming in steadily, and if they continue, we should be on the way to maintaining a successful enterprise which will provide readers with the kind of books they want at substantial savings—plus a free bonus book for every four books purchased. (See back cover.)

The *Freeman*, in a recent promotion campaign, attributed to such publications as *The Nation* a major influence "in forming political thought and attitudes in America." It's nice of the *Freeman* to say so, particularly since it represents a point of view well to the right of Herbert Hoover—and doesn't really wish us very well.

Bruce Catton, a contributing editor of *The Nation* (he reviews the Ickes book in the current issue), has received fabulous reviews on his latest book, "A Stillness at Appomattox." It's the last of his trilogy on the Army of the Potomac. The book has been favorably commented on by virtually every major newspaper literary supplement. I'll be giving you further reports on Mr. Catton and the book in the near future.—MARTIN SOLOW



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Volume 177, Number 26
New York, Saturday, December 26, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

South of the Sahara

THERE are in reality two Africas; the Sahara is the dividing line. "The desert," writes G. H. T. Krimble, "separates tongues and peoples as well as economies; fauna and flora, climates and cultures. To the north is *l'Afrique blanche*; to the south *l'Afrique noire*." It is to black Africa that this issue of *The Nation* is dedicated—an area nearly three times as large as the United States, with a population almost as great, and so overwhelmingly black that all its white inhabitants could be put into a city no larger than Chicago. Here is the last stronghold of the old European empire, and the most promising threshhold of the new American empire. Here are produced one-fifth of the world's copper and tin, nearly one-fourth of its manganese, more than half of its gold, 80 per cent of its cobalt, 98 per cent of its industrial diamonds. And here live more than 140,000,000 people whose unhappy fate it is that their first real bid for freedom should coincide with the opening of the atomic age. More than half the world's known supply of uranium lies in Africa south of the Sahara.

The editors acknowledge with thanks the assistance of John V. Murra, formerly economic affairs officer and African area specialist with the Trusteeship Division of the United Nations, in the preparation of this issue.

These are the basic factors, each given added potency by East-West tensions, behind the post-World War II struggle for the dark continent. In this struggle the United States has immense stakes, ideological, political, economic. Yet the stakes are confusing and sometimes appear contradictory. Out of our rich revolutionary memories arises a natural sympathy for all peoples who seek freedom; for many decades, here and abroad, we wrote into the record our steadfast abhorrence of empire. But all our wealth is not in memories, and both Wall Street and the Pentagon are writing quite a different record. "The public investment of United States money in Africa now runs more than a half-billion dollars," said the Chicago *Daily News* recently, "and the private investments may be as much or more. Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast military resources of this continent suggest that the nineteenth-century imperialism of England, France, Belgium, and Portugal is child's play by comparison."

Must imperialism follow investment? Not necessarily, as Fenner Brockway points out in one of the articles in this issue, provided certain conditions exist. These conditions do not generally exist in Africa south of the Sahara. There are heavy American investments in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Largely for the efficient and orderly development of these mines, and of other resources, the British have just pushed through a federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland *against the will of the African inhabitants*. The British Labor Party objected, but does anyone suppose that the Washington Administration did? Comilog, a French firm in which United States Steel has a 49 per cent interest, has discovered and is preparing to develop a large high-grade manganese deposit in French Equatorial Africa. Will this make the United States more friendly, or less, to the plea for freedom for the Ewe people so eloquently expressed by Sylvanus E. Olympio in this issue?

However we may feel ideologically, we are politically and financially increasingly committed to empire—either our Allies' or our own in competition with theirs. How much of our billions in foreign aid to France, Britain, and Belgium has gone to strengthen the machinery of colonialism? Mr. Olympio speaks of the French "colonial-development fund" and asserts that its ultimate source was Marshall Plan money. Whether we give or we invest, we invite responsibility. And in the view of some of our empire-minded allies at least, we are at last learning to discharge that responsibility in proper fashion. Ivor Thomas, writing in the London *Times*, complained that during and before World War II the colonial powers could not get a fair hearing from the United States. "In the past few years, however," Mr. Thomas wrote, "a great transformation has taken place in the official American attitude. . . . I am deeply conscious of how much the United Nations owes in this matter to the solid good sense of Mr. Foster Dulles." This was written in 1951, when Mr. Dulles was chief of the United States delegation to the United Nations. Today, as Secretary of State, he is in a position to put the United Nations—read colonial powers—and Mr. Thomas in even greater debt to

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him. The recent behavior of our representatives on the Trusteeship Council show how far we have strayed from our traditional position on the freedom of peoples.

But the new community of interest we have found with the Old World empires is not entirely a matter of money. The cold war has added a new dimension to every square inch of the earth's surface: a hill becomes a fortification, a river is a military barrier, a road turns into an armored column, a mine is measured in terms of armaments potential. Thus Africa has become a major strategic land mass: If Europe were lost, North Africa would still stand as the staging area for Allied troops. Britain's reaction to the threatened loss of Suez has been the enlargement of military facilities in Kenya. Congo railroads, now being expanded at a feverish rate, will serve excellently —according to Albion Ross of the New York *Times*— to enable the Allies "to fall back on East African bases in case the Suez area should be lost or neutralized."

THUS it is at a time when the protection of the Western world's vested interests in Africa south of the Sahara has become seemingly a matter of life or death that the winds of revolution are sweeping across the continent. If the white man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of Africa's resources, the black man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of freedom. Mr. Olympio tells us something of the genesis of the movement toward independence; our newspaper headlines have been telling us daily of its growth. From the passive-resistance movement in South Africa to the bloody and prolonged miniature war against the Mau Mau in Kenya, the African rebellion has taken on different forms. For everything about the status quo in Africa is complex, including the efforts to change it. A glance at the map on page 559 shows only part of the complexities—the divisions of the continent and the diversity of the authorities in control. What the map does not show is the enormous diversity of conditions—political, economic, social—within each region; nor does it show how the boundaries, most of them drafted on conference tables thousands of miles from Africa, arbitrarily cut across tribal and even family units. Some of these complexities are revealed in the articles which follow; also revealed are some of the tragic human results which have followed the arbitrary imposition of a modern industrial economy upon peoples ill prepared to receive it and—with a few exceptions—not sharing in its profits.

The United States is in Africa to stay, just as it is in Europe. But we have yet to decide, in the light of treasured human values and our own ultimate security, in which direction we shall throw our influence. "It will not be many years before the same kind of upheaval now appearing in Asia will be witnessed in Africa," said Ralph Bunche two years ago. In most of Asia we lost the ideological battle; shall we lose it in Africa, too?

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AFRICA AND AMERICA

An Investment in Freedom . . *By Fenner Brockway*

London

I KNOW personally the leaders of most of the rising national movements in Africa. I will tell you what they think of America and what they ask of you.

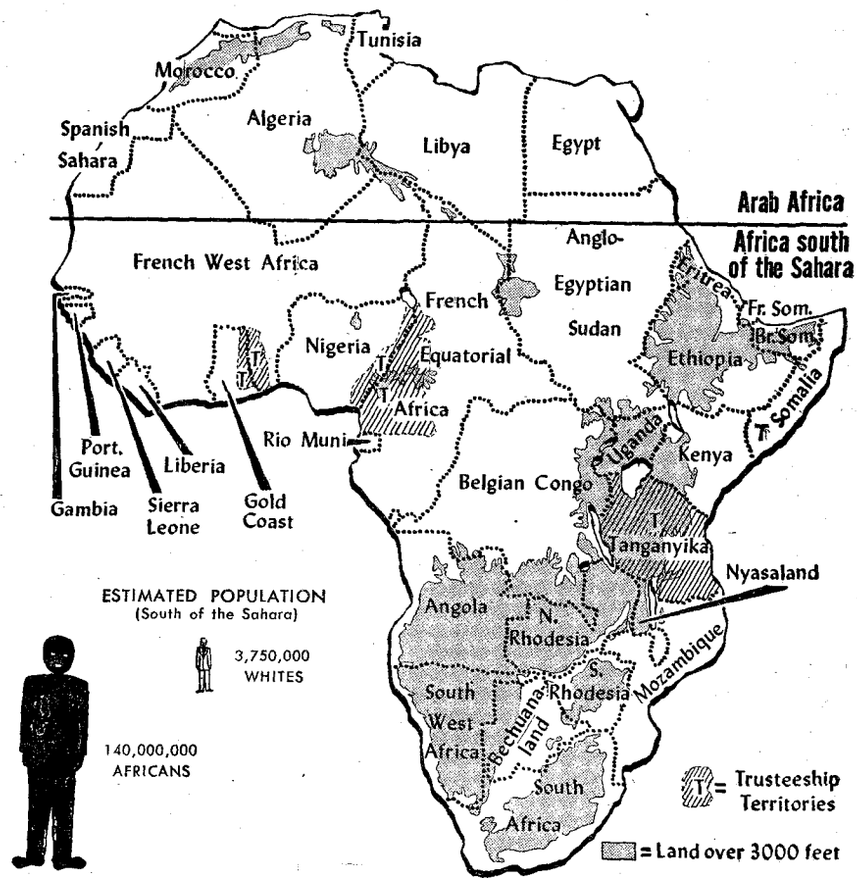
I am not saying that all Africans speak in exactly the same terms. There is some difference between Africans in the British and French empires. The attitude of Africans who have accepted Communist ideology and who cannot consequently see any good in America is somewhat different from that of others. But allowing for these exceptions, it is remarkable how most Africans speak with one voice. I have sat round a table with the most influential Africans from ten countries, and it has been difficult to detect any divergences in their views about the major problems of the world.

Let me illustrate this by their reactions, not to America, but to Europe. Six years ago prominent West European Socialists who had been working on a plan for economic union came to the conclusion that the participation of Africa was essential: Africa had the raw materials and certain foodstuffs which Europe lacked. So, optimistically, these Socialists from France, Britain, the Benelux countries, and Italy invited African representatives to come to Paris to work out a joint economic plan.

The African representatives came. They came from British West Africa, French North Africa, the Sudan, British East Africa, British Central Africa, and Madagascar. They would have come from South Africa if they had been permitted visas. They did not come from Belgian, Portuguese, or Spanish Africa because national democratic movements and leaders had not yet emerged in these territories. Thirty or forty African representatives came and were effusively welcomed. But they would not play ball.

They refused to cooperate in West European economic union for two reasons. Americans may deplore their decision, but it is as important for Americans as for Europeans that these reasons should be understood. First, the Africans said, and they said it unanimously, that Western Europe belonged to one of the two power blocs into which the world is divided and they were not prepared to associate with either bloc. They declared they would refuse just as categorically a similar invitation if it came from Eastern Europe. Their spokesman, a leader from Algeria, explained their position in these words: "We do not possess self-government and cannot influence world events. We have no responsibility for the division between East and West, and we cannot identify ourselves with either. When we have self-government we will make our decision. It will probably be the same decision as India's—to work for reconciliation and peace."

Those of us who indorsed the right of peoples to govern themselves found it difficult to reject that reasoning. We found it still more difficult to reject their ground for non-participation, though



South of the Sahara the white man settled mostly in the temperate climate of the highlands (shaded areas). Today these are the most troubled regions of the continent. The United Nations has voted to turn Southwest Africa into a U. N. trust territory; South Africa, which now controls the areas, has refused.

FENNER BROCKWAY, Labor M. P. for Eton and Slough, is popularly known in Britain as "M. P. for Africa" because of his interest in African affairs. He is chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, which includes all major non-Communist democratic movements in Africa.

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Americans have no reason to share our sense of shame as we listened to Africa's verdict: "We cannot join an economic union with West Europe because it is West Europe which is responsible for our political servitude. The West European nations are our imperialist masters—Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain. Give us self-government and we shall be prepared to discuss economic union with you. Not until then."

That was that. The African representatives who had been called to Paris to plan a joint economy with Western Europe stayed in Paris to establish a Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism with the object of ending West European occupation of their territories.

THE FIRST REASON the Africans gave for rejecting the hand of Western Europe applies also to America. So long as they are denied the democratic right to decide for themselves, Africans will turn a deaf ear to appeals to support the Western group of nations of which America is the leader. They pour scorn on tributes to liberty while they themselves are denied liberty. And the spokesman who indicated that the present tendency of African thought is to indorse India's policy of independence of both the Eastern and the Western bloc is undoubtedly right. From nearly every African representative I have heard the same view; it appears to be instinctive with them. It is the declared policy of Dr. N'Krumah, the first African Prime Minister of a British colony.

In only two African countries have I heard a different view—Tunisia and the Sudan. Mr. Bourguiba, the leader of the Neo-Destour in Tunisia, has declared his allegiance to the Western cause, despite his imprisonment by the French; and in the Sudan, Mahdi Pasha, the powerful political and religious leader of the Independence Front, has also come out in support of the West. It is right to add, however, that in both cases, particularly in Tunisia, dissent from the opinions of these leaders has been expressed.

African reluctance to associate with the American-led Western bloc, however, does not mean sympathy with the totalitarian dictatorships of the Communist countries. I am astonished not only by the small grip which communism has on Africa but by the failure of the Communists to exploit the glaring injustices, both economic and political, from which the African population suffers. Except in French Africa, the Sudan, and South Africa, Communist influence scarcely exists.

The French are themselves to blame for such Communist influence as is to be found in North Africa. They have suppressed the newspapers published by the national movements of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, and in consequence the people have turned to the Communist press, where, alone among French papers, they have seen their news and case presented. In French Equatorial Africa, Communist influence used to be considerable, again a reflection of the strength of the French Communist Party; but it has been lessened by the influence of democratic progress in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, within the neighboring British sphere. In the Sudan, Communist influence is limited to the trade-union movement, where certain students deported from Egypt because of their Communist activities have gained official positions. In South Africa, Communists have taken advantage of the weak stand of the dominion Labor Party on the color issue and have fairly wide influence in both the African and the Indian National Congress. But that is just about as far as Communist influence extends in Africa. Despite the persistent and skilful efforts of British and French Communists to woo African students in London and Paris, Africa remains for the most part untouched by the Communist wave which has swept over such a large part of Asia.

The sketches in this issue are the work of Miranda Burney-Nicol, a self-taught young African artist from Sierra Leone who is now in the United States studying sociology and history of art. She signs her work with the name by which she is known at home—Olayinka.

Why is this? In the case of Africa north of the Sahara, populated largely by Arabs, the reason lies in the hold of the Moslem faith on the people. Religious views are also a powerful antidote to communism in countries, such as Uganda, where Christian teaching, both Protestant and Catholic, has gained a hold on the people. But the common factor against communism in most African countries is the democratic traditions of their tribes and their own experience in the struggle for liberty.

African tribal life had for the most part a day-to-day democratic community-consciousness which rejected dictatorship. Where there were chiefs, they were accepted only so long as they acted as the fathers and spokesmen of the people. Other tribes, like the Kikuyu in Kenya, recently much maligned, resented personal power so strongly that they would not have chiefs: their clans were administered by councils of elders. Indeed, one of their grievances against the British is that government-selected chiefs have been imposed upon them. A significant feature of African life today, in countries often separated by hundreds of miles, is the revolt of the people against the power of the chiefs, who too often have become stooges of the imperial administration.

STILL MORE important, African leaders have come to love liberty in the course of their struggle for it. Their intellectuals have imbibed the teachings of the British liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century and of Jefferson and the philosophers of the American Revolution. They have continuously had to fight against repressions of speech, writing, association, and movement, against infringements of habeas corpus, against arbitrary imprisonments and deportations. Having gone through these experiences, they are not tuned to welcome the denials of civil and political liberty inherent in totalitarian communism.

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But—a warning. To the masses of Africa, doomed to wretched poverty and horrible disease, often suffering from land hunger, driven into the towns to serve as cheap labor, issues of civil and political liberty seem of little account. They want bread and land and life. So communism can make an appeal, just as it has done successfully over large areas of Asia. Only if Western Europe and America, and especially America because of its greater material resources, respond to this need, will the African people resist the appeal of communism.

This brings me to the second doubt which is in African minds regarding America. African leaders everywhere appreciate the absence of American political imperialism, but at the same time they fear the danger of American economic imperialism. There is ex-President Truman's Point Four. There is American capital investment.

RECENTLY I was in Uganda. I flew 200 miles from its African capital, Kampala —the British capital is twenty-five miles away, beautiful but bureaucratic in its isolation—to Toro, once a paradise for fishermen and hunters, but now the fish have been nationalized and the game protected. Motoring across the plain, past a road sign "Give Way to Elephants"—and in fact forty wild elephants sported near-by—we came to the Mountains of the Moon. Here copper has been discovered, and a mining company, largely American-financed, has begun work. In our rusty and dusty old car was the local African princess, a pleasant rounded woman who except for the color of her skin might have been an English housewife. Like English housewives, she was not wanting in expressiveness. She poured out her fears of what the copper mine might bring.

Uganda is a protectorate which the British have in many ways honestly protected. No non-African is permitted to own land, and in consequence Uganda is free from the "European settler" problem which has set ablaze neighboring Kenya. But now, said the princess, European and American technicians will pour in to direct the copper mine, Europeans will arrive to take the skilled jobs, and Africans will be recruited as cheap labor to do the rough work. A multi-racial society, socially and economically divided, will develop in the shadow of the Mountains of the Moon, and wealth will be drained from Uganda's mineral resources to absentee and alien investors.

This is an example of what is happening in many parts of Africa. It would be reactionary to reject capital investment or the coming of technicians. What can be done to protect the Africans? We will cross the mountains into the Sudan to find the answer. There the most remarkable economic enterprise in the whole of Africa has been carried out, and it has been carried out with justice to both capital investors and the Sudanese.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS ago a triangle of land of which Khartoum is the apex and the White and Blue Niles, joining at the city, are the longer sides was arid space. Now this same land, a million acres in extent, produces huge crops of cotton and millet. The peasant who earned £35 in 1938 earned £650 last year, and the whole scheme is now owned by the Sudan government—the territory will shortly become self-governing—and the 35,000 fortunate tenants. The investors have had their interest for forty years, and the loans have been either repaid or guaranteed.

The scheme began as a tripartite venture of the Sudan government, the tenants, and two British companies. For forty years the Sudan government received 40 per cent, the tenants 40 per cent, the companies 20 per cent of the income. A proportion of income was used for education, health, the erection of village halls, football fields; among the people there has been a social as well as an economic revolution. Three years ago the concession to the two companies came to an end. They were fully paid up. This vast venture, involving an enormous irrigation scheme, has been completed by British capital and British technicians—I should pay the same tribute if they had been American, French, or German—without any vestige of economic imperialism; its final result is to give the new self-governing Sudan its richest revenue-producing property.

HERE, I BELIEVE, is a model of how capital investment, which one admits must be mostly American, can be directed to Africa without the economic exploitation of the population. Apply the principle of the Sudan Gezira scheme to those copper mines in Uganda. A concession should be granted to investors for a period of years. The necessary technicians should be welcomed: they should be given a contract for a period of years, but there should be in the background a board representing the Uganda government and people. A proportion of the revenue should be devoted to education, health, housing, and to the training of Africans in technical and skilled work. Fifty years from now the copper mines of the Mountains of the Moon should be African-owned and African-run.

One hopes the time will come when investment in the undeveloped territories will become a United Nations function under a world authority. It is time we gave our attention to this need.

America has the privilege of being the wealthiest country in the world. It has given an example to the older nations by rejecting the tradition of political and territorial imperialism. It has thereby won the good-will of all African peoples. It can become, if it will, the pioneer of policies which will also reject economic imperialism. That would win the admiration and devotion of African peoples.

Will America rise to this high opportunity, for the good not only of Africa but of all the emerging peoples, for the good of the world?

GROWTH OF UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM AFRICA
(IN U. S. DOLLARS)

	1937	*1949*	*1951*
Congo	1,471,000	21,895,000	52,020,000
French West Africa	2,434,000	5,609,000	13,737,000
Gold Coast	17,937,000	45,290,000	80,386,650
Nigeria	11,589,000	26,875,000	51,543,830
Northern Rhodesia	620,000	18,028,000	18,152,600
Union of South Africa	6,560,000	36,513,000	98,910,000

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

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QUEST FOR LIBERTY.

An African Speaks . . . *by Sylvanus E. Olympio*

Lome, Togoland

IN THE Gold Coast to the west of my country and in Nigeria to the east every adult, from the most illiterate and poorest farmer's wife to the polished graduate of an English or American university, will go to the ballot boxes at the next general elections and elect an African government of their own design. In the Gold Coast, particularly, the government chosen will be a real government, very nearly if not wholly a sovereign government, freeing the country almost completely from the colonial system.

But in Togoland, which is my country and which I love, and in the Ivory Coast and Dahomey and other parts of French West and Equatorial Africa, even to speak aloud the wish that we might follow our brothers and neighbors to freedom from colonial rule seems to be regarded by our rulers as verging on treason. Self-government for its colonies is the oft-proclaimed objective of every truly modern colonial power. For us Togolanders, who live in a colony which belongs to no power but is merely intrusted to France for the time being by the United Nations, the guaranty of self-government is spelled out by the U. N. Charter itself. Yet in Togoland, more than anywhere else in West Africa, the only results of our insistence that this guaranty shall be progressively implemented have been recriminations, persecutions, broken heads, and prolonged visits to the local jails. For two years or more we have lived in an atmosphere of tension, hostility, and repression unknown among our Gold Coast neighbors only two miles away. It is so bad that a recent and highly conservative U. N. visiting mission felt obliged to draw attention to it.

SYLVANUS E. OLYMPIO is a distinguished West African leader who has represented the Ewe people—1,000,000 strong—before the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In the childhood years of our fathers the rival powers of Europe carved up West Africa into zones of influence, trade, protection, and sovereignty. The Africans were not consulted; except for a few powerful chiefs whose friendship had to be bought, they were hardly considered. The lines drawn by the Europeans ran ruthlessly through tribes, villages, and even individual farms, careless of all African history, tradition, language, or authority, and above all careless of the worth of the African as a human being and the certainty that he would some day insist on his fundamental rights.

Such a frontier line cut like a butcher's knife through my Ewe people, dividing us first between the British Gold Coast and the German Togoland, and dividing us again when Togoland was shared between Britain and France after the First World War. Although our protests date as far back as that time, it is perhaps true that not many of our people understood the full implications of our fragmentation, for it was the common policy of all the colonial powers to keep us in a state of ignorance and undisguised exploitation.

BUT AS THE second great war engulfed the world, including ourselves, ran its course, and passed, we entered a time of crisis. On the one hand, our people's minds became filled with an understanding of freedom and our hearts burned with a longing for it. On the other hand, this understanding and this longing forced the colonial powers to adopt new policies which might appease our demands and still serve their own interests —an attempt at compromise which gave birth to conflicts and contradictions. We were caught in the middle in a clash of colonial ideologies which is for us what the cold war is to the world at large.

Americans, too many of whom still seem to think of Africa in terms of war dances and witchcraft—which as entertainment we prefer, anyhow, to your Elks and Lions—may not realize how profoundly the Second World War affected the social and political structure of West Africa. Contact with foreign troops stationed here or passing through, the enrolment of thousands of young West African men and women in the Allied armies, the intensive propaganda of the Allied governments to rally us to the war effort and of the Vichy government to make us boycott it—these things could hardly be expected to have only a temporary influence on our lives. The Allied governments convinced us of the value of liberty, and promised far-reaching changes in our political status and our standards of living. The Vichy government, which retained control of French West Africa for three years after the fall of France, urged us not to abandon our skepticism, enforcing its arguments by arresting, throwing into concentration camps, and even shooting Africans who believed in the Allied cause. My people, the Ewes, whose very families are divided between the British and French administrations, were asked to fight one another.

The war over, we awaited anxiously the fulfilment of the promises of Britain and France. Both moved almost simultaneously, though independently, to announce a new era for West Africa; and both disappointed us bitterly. The British offered a clear assurance of ultimate self-government, but the constitutions they presented to West Africa in 1946 were marked by a caution completely out of touch with the facts of African political life. In the Gold Coast and the part of my country attached to it dissatisfaction reached a climax in 1948 with riots and disturbances, and Britain saw more clearly the writing on the wall. Its present policy of peaceful withdrawal from West Africa, leaving behind only the friendly ties of trade, technical assistance, and mutual respect, was then firmly established, and the following years have seen the people of the Gold Coast creating the constitutional structure of a free,

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equal, and independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

From France came a flow of idealistic words adorning a new idea, the French Union—an idea of partnership between France and its colonies whose purpose arouses the gravest suspicions. Obviously the French Union does not much resemble the British Commonwealth of Nations—or the King of Cambodia would not be insisting that his country be given a status like that of Pakistan. Obviously the French Union does not allow its junior members to become genuinely self-governing—or Vietnam and Laos would not be complaining that it bars their independence.

The fact is that the granting of self-government—for which the French language has no adequate word except *indépendance*—to any of the French colonies would destroy the whole conception of the French Union, no matter what flexibility is claimed for it. France, rightly proud of its race and culture, has never really abandoned the idea that it has a sacred mission to "assimilate" its colonial peoples, even though the emphasis now is on the assimilation of territories rather than individuals. Further, France believes firmly in the theory of a strongly centralized government, and considerations of international prestige and of economy seem to Frenchmen to demand the closest integration of the colonies with the mother country.

THESE IDEAS are basic to the concept of the French Union. They explain why Paris remains not merely the sentimental or even economic heart of the empire, as London is to British countries, but also the political heart, making policies and laws for all the peoples of the Union. In British West Africa control of policy and lawmaking is passing rapidly from British into African hands; in the French territories this control is held firmly in Paris. Our single Togoland deputy joins the handful of other French colonial members of the National Assembly in Paris to form an insignificant minority which can in no way influence any major decision on colonial policy, far less on West African or Togoland policy.

At home they have given us a Territorial Assembly which has no legislative power in the real sense of the word. Its main responsibility is the local budget, in which more than half the expenditures are compulsory and cannot be amended by the Assembly. It is forbidden to discuss political problems, even the problem of its own lack of authority. Earlier this year, for example, an African member offered a motion calling upon the Assembly to examine the French government's draft of a new law purporting

(and that itself is an interesting story) to increase the Assembly's powers. The governor's representative vetoed the discussion.

All power remains in Paris; that, I repeat, is the cornerstone of the French Union. Paris decides which of us may vote, even for the members of our powerless local organs; and the French have a genius for arranging colonial elections everywhere in the empire so as to insure that pro-government parties hold control. Paris shapes the form of our economy. It is true that the colonial countries are now making greater efforts than ever before to develop the economic resources of their colonies, but no one can pretend that they are doing it for the benefit of the colonial peoples. The main object of the biggest schemes is to restore the economic stability of the colonial powers themselves. The Volta River aluminum project in the Gold Coast, the development of iron and gold mines in French Guinea, and a new phosphate-extraction project in Togoland are cases in point. The agricultural products to be given priority—ground nuts, cocoa, coffee, and so forth—have been carefully chosen to satisfy economic appetites overseas rather than hungry stomachs at home. These policies not only restrict the earnings of the colonies to the selling prices of the raw, unfinished products; they also ignore the need for planning the economy of each colony so that it can eventually become an independent state.

Furthermore—and this is one good reason why these policies exist—trade and industry are still almost exclusively in the hands of European companies. The role usually left to the African is that of small middleman or buyer. Nearly all processing, even in the primary stages, is carried out in Europe or America, taking profits and taxes with it. Import and export trade is naturally suited to African experience and skill, but in the French territories economic activities are controlled in such a way as to favor the operations of the large European firms.

WE UNDERSTAND that West Africa will need technical and financial assistance from Europe and America for some time. So far we have seen little, except in concealed forms, of the help which we know the United States and the United Nations are ready to give. When France speaks with pride of its colonial-development fund, we are obliged to remind ourselves that this fund is largely made up of Marshall aid from America to France. As for Point Four and U. N. technical assistance, which we need so badly, we can only guess that our governments do not want us to be influenced by association with foreign technicians.

We need foreign capital too; we believe there is room for it in West Africa, to the advantage of everyone. And we know that capital investment needs stable governments—which brings me back to the beginning. For we are convinced that self-governing West African states, full members of the United Nations, can offer better prospects to the world than a collection of colonial dependencies fighting for their freedom and dangerously open to all influences which promise to help them in their struggle.

We cannot tolerate the prospect of remaining as dependent territories when the Gold Coast and Nigeria, on either side of us, have won the independent status of India and Ceylon. The evident solution for West Africa is some kind of federation which will satisfy the smaller units' aspirations for self-determination without leaving them weak, isolated, and unstable. Unity and freedom are the aims of my divided Ewe people; unity and freedom should be the aims of West Africa as a whole.

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RACIAL DEADLOCK

Dark Age in a Dark Land . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

TERRITORIES in which the white man has long been settled—in the Cape of Good Hope since the seventeenth century, in the Transvaal and Orange Free State since the mid-nineteenth century, in the Rhodesias and East Africa since the end of the nineteenth century—enjoy neither the peaceful present nor the hopeful future of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The atmosphere of the old Kaffir wars is back again. The curve of tolerance dips downward. Not since the worst brutalities of the slave trade has the African shown himself so baleful as have the Mau Mau terrorists of Kenya. Nothing in Africa's history of white settlement, not even the frightful Matabele war fought by the Rhodesian settlers fifty years ago, has been more horrible than the wholesale killing with which the white man has met the Mau Mau rebellion.

While Africans everywhere in these territories gather their strength and seek new ways of self-defense, the white man seems incapable of making any genuine advance toward racial tolerance and equality. He prates of his own fitness to lead, but his leadership leads only to chaos in Kenya, to a federation in Central Africa that every intelligent African has condemned, to beastliness in South Africa that needs to be seen to be believed.

Given the proportions in which the whites are outnumbered in these territories—overwhelmingly outnumbered everywhere except in the Union of South Africa—and the virtual certainty that no policy of white immigration can ever appreciably alter this, the settlers might be expected to try to reach a friendly and expanding agreement with the non-whites. Here and there, of course, they do try, and are prepared to give up some or even all of their racial privilege, but the majority of the white men and women of East and South Africa seem incapable of envisaging a future any different from their present. Rather than approach equality of opportunity with Africans, most of them would prefer to "fight the bastards for as long as we can, and then get out if we must." Understandably, the Afrikaans-speaking whites are generally more desperate in this purpose than others, knowing that while the Europeans can always go back to Europe, they themselves have "nowhere to get out to."

THE RACIAL deadlock in East and South Africa is of course a corollary of economic conditions. This is a region of "permanent white supremacy" and "cheap African labor." Its basic economy was well described by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, in a fairly recent statement. Defending his government against the criticism that it encouraged the drift of Africans to the towns—bad for the farmers and bad for racial segregation—Sir Godfrey said: "The Europeans insist on this drift to the towns. They insist on having this native labor. . . . We cannot exist for five minutes without the native today. He is absolutely essential to our wage structure if nothing else." And he went on, rubbing in the point: "If we went on a purely European basis with the present conditions of living and pay—I am not complaining about them but merely pointing out a fact—the country would be sub-economic and down and out in five minutes."

This system of helotry was imposed by force. By 1846 the British had fought their seventh Kaffir war in the Cape Province; the Boers, farther to the north by this time, were spasmodically at war with the Bantu for most of the nineteenth century. British settlers pushing northward into the lands beyond the Limpopo established their dominion through bloody struggles with the African peoples already living there. Other whites, and other regiments from home, were meanwhile pushing westward from the shores of the Indian Ocean, bamboozling, buying up, or subduing the Kikuyu, Masai, and other peoples of that region. In neighboring territories the French, Germans, and Belgians, struggling to catch up with the British, went eagerly about the same business.

So long as this helotry remained within a pre-industrial framework of extensive farming or of mining solely for export, the white man's problem stayed simple. He needed only to maintain law and order, put down rebellions, suppress "agitators," and take in the profits. He could even justify his repressive action, here and there, by pointing to certain benefits of his coming—the stopping of the Arab slave trade in East Africa, the ending of tribal wars in Central Africa, the occasional glimpses of European civilization provided to Africans. Only in the last decade has this half-vicious, half-paternalist society of bond and free begun to be undermined. But the process is going on now with staggering speed.

THERE ARE two main reasons for this development. The first is the growth of secondary industry, especially in the Union and the Rhodesias, and the use of African labor in manufacturing as well as in farming and mining. Great numbers of Africans now live in and around the principal cities and, as Huggins says, are indispensable to the white man's economy. These Africans are not herded in gigantic compounds as are the native mine workers of the Rand; they live in sorry shacks in urban slums. Though they suffer from atrocious social conditions, they have gained access to the modern world of trade unions and literacy; they know where they stand.

The second reason for the recent change is related to the first. Even in territories not undergoing industrialization new ideas have been engendered in

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the Africans by the collapse of colonialism in other parts of the world and the advance of some native peoples in Africa itself. Nationalism draws together tribes and groups hitherto slumbering in isolation, knowing no way to unite against their masters. Every step the white man takes to bolster up his threatened supremacy acts now as a goad to the African. Nowhere has this been more obvious than in British Central Africa this last year or so. In the two protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia (200,000 whites and 6,000,000 non-whites) the British have imposed a federation which is intended to make Central Africa safe against African political advance. African efforts to oppose the scheme in these last two years have given birth to a vividly felt nationalism. Conservative chiefs have joined radical nationalist congresses. The very men on whom the British have most relied for indirect rule have declared their solidarity with nationalist politicians and trade-unionists.

ALTHOUGH nothing sensational is likely to happen in Central Africa for a long time, the importance of this growth in African understanding and self-consciousness can hardly be overestimated. Where the Africans used to divide whites into two kinds—those who were "with the government" and thus part of the system of protection, and those who were not with the government but were there to make money out of Africans—they now see that the two kinds are really the same. All but the merest handful of whites have wanted and worked for federation. The administration has done its best to put through federation. If the opinions of Africans were ever asked, they were completely ignored. The educational influence of all this has not been small.

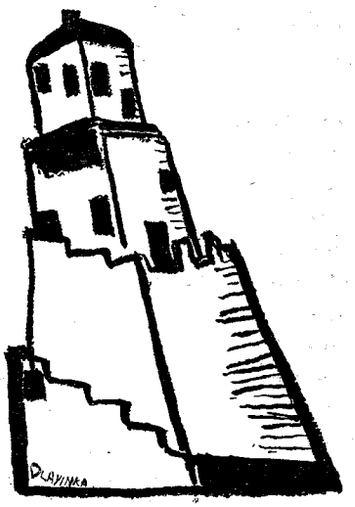
Perhaps the speed of African advance in understanding is the salient point. People outside Africa often imagine that these half-dressed, woolly-headed people are hopelessly backward. Many white men in Africa share that view: "My dear chap, it'll take generations before these Kaffirs are fit to run their own affairs." It was the demonstration that this was not so that caused such spleen against what is called "that Gold Coast experiment."

White men need to revise most of their ideas about Africans. African peoples are showing themselves not only familiar with ideas hitherto regarded as the preserve of the white man but capable of a high degree of modern organization. At the same time they are reasserting the validity of many traditional forms of social behavior and demonstrating that the emergent societies will be specifically African and not mere copies of institutions brought in by the whites.

AS AN EXAMPLE of their capacity to organize along modern industrial lines I would cite the achievements of the Northern Rhodesian African Miners' Union. Formed in 1948, it has already succeeded in more than doubling wages in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt. Late last year it called a general strike in the copper mines that lasted three weeks and was completely successful—almost an unheard-of thing in Africa. Its membership now includes a big majority of the 40,000 African mine workers in the territory. Why should Africans in this very backward protectorate have proved so successful in building a trade union? Perhaps because in this territory alone the government gave them the chance of showing what they could do.

In the realm of ideas African nationalism can generally teach the whites a lesson in humanity and good sense. It is not exclusivist, as white nationalism has always been in Africa: it demands equality, not supremacy. Whether this moderation can be maintained is of course another matter; whites at the moment are doing their utmost, consciously or not, to provoke its displacement by an exclusivist black nationalism. The African National Congress of South Africa, in a 1951 statement which inaugurated its great campaign of non-violent resistance to racial laws, declared: "All people, irrespective of the national groups they may belong to and irrespective of the color of their skin, who have made South Africa their home and who believe in the principles of democracy and equality of man are South Africans. All South Africans are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality." Compare this with the narrow-minded selfishness of almost any statement of white policy in South Africa.

The same moderation prevails in Central Africa, where the African Congresses of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, though sorely provoked, have never departed from their readiness to admit the full implications of multi-racial democracy. Will others take the road of Mau Mau? Always a temptation to the extremist wing of any nationalist movement, as European history amply shows, terrorism is not the chosen weapon of Africans today. Their best leaders and the bulk of the population condemn it. If Mau Mau gains strength in Kenya and spreads to other peoples than the Kikuyu, it will be because the whites in their blindness have laid hands on all the



moderate and progressive African leaders, leaving the "bad men" in the field—who, of course, are seldom or never known.

The majority of Africans prefer to defend themselves by political and industrial organization. This form of self-defense was seen at its most effective last year in South Africa, where non-violent resistance surpassed in scale and potency everything expected of it, even by those who organized it. The deeds of the heroic volunteers who risked police violence, fines, and imprisonment gave new confidence to countless numbers of their fellows.

Is there any solid hope of breaking the racial deadlock by peaceful agreement and adjustment? Much will depend on the influence of the outside world. If it can offer only pious resolutions, while Western capital, flowing into the country in ever greater volume, preserves the old master-slave relationship, the outlook is dark indeed. The white man has one last chance in Africa: at the moment, by all the signs, he is throwing it away.

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AFRICAN WORKERS

Progress from Primitivism . . *by Julius Lewin*

Johannesburg

A FOUNTAIN plays gently outside the sculptured entrance to one of the most impressive buildings in Johannesburg, the headquarters of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. Within these walls projects are planned that dominate the lives of countless people between Cape Town and the Congo. Along with other financial groups, all organized in the Chamber of Mines, the corporation controls the production of gold, copper, and various other minerals, including uranium.

Some 300,000 African laborers work in the mines of the Rand, several thousand feet underground. This enormous labor force is recruited from many areas. Less than half is drawn from the Union of South Africa; the rest comes from far afield—from Portuguese East Africa, from Basutoland, from Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Angola, and elsewhere. The Chamber of Mines spends large sums and employs a regiment of ingenious white men to insure that the recurrent shortage of African labor never becomes really serious.

The African tribesmen leave their distant rural homes, their wives and children, for about a year at a time to work in the mines. No legal compulsion is applied to make them do this. They are driven by indirect measures that the public conscience can accommodate. The Africans are not allowed enough land to live on. Their reservations, overcrowded and eroded, are unresponsive to the primitive type of agriculture practiced in them. Africans must also earn cash to pay their taxes. To this economic pressure is added the lure of the modern city. Wonderful tales are told of the excitement and magic that await the adventurous traveler to the golden Rand. As if to prove his very manhood, the

African must some day set forth to the destination from which the *machona,* or lost ones, never return.

In the big city the African, released from the tightness of tribal control, explores pleasures hitherto undreamed of. He will quickly be introduced to prostitutes and homosexuals. He will learn that family ties can be loosened, that a ruthless individualism seems to take a man farther with less effort. He is paid at the average rate of under 50 cents a day and is housed and fed by his employer. One of the modern arts which the tribesman is strictly prohibited from learning is the art of organizing a labor union. Africans in the mines are denied by law the right to combine to protect their interests, a right long exercised by the mine-owners, who are careful not to compete with one another for the labor available. Uniform wage rates have always prevailed in the mines. Wages have risen slightly on the Rand in the past year, for the first time in ten years, not as the result of pressure from below, but from fear that recruitment could not otherwise be maintained.

The pattern of employment set on the Rand before the end of the nineteenth century was followed after 1930 in the copper belt of Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent, in the Belgian Congo. But significant differences mark the three areas. In the Transvaal all but 1 per cent of the laborers are migrants housed in compounds holding a maximum of men with a minimum of elementary human comfort. In Northern Rhodesia nearly 60 per cent of the laborers now have their families with them and live in houses in the mining township. In the Katanga area of the Congo as many as 83 per cent are accompanied by their families.

In Rhodesia too the low wages were raised in 1953, but here the increase was the result of a British economist's arbitration, following a three weeks' strike by the African labor union. A dozen years earlier the idea that African tribesmen could organize a union had been laughed at. Legal obstacles were removed after 1940 when the British House of Commons inserted in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act a clause forbidding financial aid to a colony unless its laws allowed African trade unions to function. The black miners, given the opportunity and some assistance, were not slow to follow the example of the white miners, long organized in their own exclusive union of skilled men. This latter union had never been able to prevent the black miners in Rhodesia from taking part in semi-skilled work, like blasting and drilling, as the parent white union on the Rand had always done. None the less, a rigid color bar had from the beginning prevented black men from doing the best-paid types of work. These are still reserved for white immigrants to the colony from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

THE WHOLE system of migrant labor is wasteful and destructive of human energies and aspirations. It plays havoc with the social structure of the tribes deeply affected by it. In war time any white community soon feels the absence of a small proportion of husbands, fathers, and sons. In Africa, year after year, the

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percentage of able-bodied men away from the tribe has risen; it has reached 43 in parts of Nyasaland and 70 in many parts of South Africa. The Belgians were the first to think of putting a limit to the proportion of absentees. A generation ago, after careful inquiries, they set the figure at 10 per cent of adult men. Whether migration ever has been or can be kept within such limits may well be doubted. Under present circumstances, no one would propose to limit migration by law, for if this were done, people would starve. They would starve because their lands often cannot produce enough to keep them alive, let alone provide a surplus for sale.

The absence of the men leaves agriculture to women and children and to the aged and infirm. When the men do return home, it is to rest and recuperate before their next spell of work at the mines or in some other white employment. They are in no mood to respond to tribal discipline or to their chief's demands. They have learned a new freedom, and to exercise it they are ready to abandon old customs or, at best, to observe them in perfunctory fashion. Strange ideas about morals and manners, about wealth and work, even about human rights and wrongs are brought back to the tribes when the menfolk return from the mines. But these ideas do not include new ways of cultivating the exhausted soil.

IT IS THE recognizable process of industrialization, and with it urbanization, that has come to claim the best physical and mental energies in south-central Africa. But the industrialism here, mainly mining, is in the early predatory stage in which wealth accumulates and men decay. The African gets only a tiny share of the tremendous wealth produced in the three rich mining areas of the Rand, the Rhodesian copper belt, and the Katanga. He was formerly poor in a poor country; today he sees that he is poor in a rich country; and he wonders why he is told that poor he must remain.

No less a personage than Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, has told him so in clear terms. When wages in the copper belt were forced up to an average of about 70 cents a day this year, Sir Ernest was quick to issue a warning. Admitting that with copper at its unprecedentedly high cold-war price, the mines could well afford to pay the new wage rates, he pointed out that Africans in other employment and in neighboring territories were making similar demands, which were "naturally very difficult to resist. This new level is one which the present low efficiency of the average African worker does not yet justify, and which his elementary needs do not yet require."

HERE WAS a hint of the mine-owner's constant dilemma, in which he must let "I dare not wait upon I would." He would like to employ Africans in the whole range of semi-skilled and even skilled work. He knows how quickly even untutored Africans learn to use modern tools and machines. He knows, too, that Africans could, before very long, displace the more highly paid white workers at most of their jobs. The color bar in industry was nowhere introduced by the desire of employers. It is supported on the Rand by law and in Rhodesia by an agreement made under pressure of the white union.

Recently there have been indications in the copper belt that some mine-owners want to relax the color bar. The British Colonial Office has had this aim in mind since 1948 when the Dalgleish commission of inquiry showed how it could be gradually achieved. But like all mine-owners Sir Ernest remembers vividly what happened on the Rand in 1922. The falling price of gold tempted the mines to try to employ fewer whites and more blacks. The first result was a small civil war that shook South Africa to its very base. The second result was the defeat of Smuts's party at the polls and the advent of a new government formed by a pact between the Afrikaner Nationalists and the white Labor Party, both grimly determined to defend white supremacy in industry as in politics. From that time the problem and the politicians' way of handling it have remained unchanged.

The toughest element in the whole pattern of white supremacy is the fact that a racial attitude supports an economic case that is not on the face of it unconvincing when it is known how long the white workers had to struggle to secure the standards of living they now refuse to share with black workers. Today the white societies in South Africa and Rhodesia are ready to rally round the cause of the white miners whenever it is menaced by the mine-owners.

Mining policy might have taken a different course, certainly in the copper belt, where it was unnecessary to repeat in the 1930's the mistakes made on the Rand in the 1890's. The color bar in Rhodesia was almost surreptitious in its operation until in 1940 the second serious labor disturbances exposed it as a major source of African grievance. Thereafter procrastination lost more than one opportunity: a firm policy could have exiled Jim Crow and kept him in his home south of the Zambesi. Now Britain has surrendered its trust to the new self-governing Rhodesian Federation, which is dominated by white politicians; and already a "Confederate Party" is contesting elections on a policy indistinguishable from Malan's *apartheid*.

The Belgians have arranged these things with somewhat better foresight. They have never encouraged white settlement in the Congo; and they have always limited the political power of those white residents whose presence industry and trade require. Consequently, their copper mines have never felt the pres-

SOME AFRICAN WAGE RATES* (IN U. S. DOLLARS)

Unskilled Labor	
Congo	0.38 daily minimum
Dakar	0.94 " "
French Sudan	0.56 " "
Kenya	3.00–4.20 monthly
Nigeria	0.15–0.70 daily
Tanganyika	3.00–9.00 monthly
Skilled Labor	
French West Africa	23.52–62.61 monthly
Nigeria	0.90–1.90 daily
Tanganyika	9.00–30.00 monthly
Miners	
Southern Rhodesia	7.44 monthly (average)
Tanganyika	up to 16.00 monthly
Vlakfontein Mine (South Africa)	.60 daily (average)

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

*In East and South Africa the worker generally gets food and shelter (usually in barracks) in addition to his cash wage.

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sure of a white society insistently proclaiming its supremacy in "a white man's country." The Katanga mines have thus been free to employ Africans in a wider range of skilled jobs and to encourage this labor force to settle in the mining areas. The Belgians have not avoided all the harm done by migrant labor, but they perceived the danger at an early stage and took steps to diminish it. They also take regular steps to protect Africans from contamination by democratic ideas, and the Roman Catholic church is always at hand to control the education of Africans.

It may be too late now for any external agency to make an impact on the established habits of South Africa and Rhodesia in normal circumstances. The mining industry has long defended itself with ease against critics at home and abroad. The International Labor Office produced a series of conventions setting minimum standards over the whole field of contract labor. Yet Britain, Belgium, and South Africa have stood alone and unashamed before the United Nations, insisting on their need to retain imprisonment and whipping to enforce contracts against the numerous deserting migrant laborers. Even when I. L. O. standards have been reluctantly accepted in theory, they have made small practical difference to African situations. Belgium may enjoy a superior reputation for its policy of paternalism in the Katanga, but it has displayed exceptional anxiety to escape the criticism of colonial policy that the international trusteeship system allows.

YET CHANGE does come. Since the Africans' own efforts to bring it about are still weak, change comes mainly through sheer necessity, such as the need to overcome the shortage of labor. The post-war growth of industry and trade generally is slowly compelling the mines to accept the stabilization of their labor and to reduce, however reluctantly, their dependence on migrants. Making a virtue of this anticipated necessity, the Anglo-American Corporation wanted recently to build quarters for married men in the new goldfields opening up in the Orange Free State. At present, however, Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in Dr. Malan's Cabinet, is hostile to the idea. He is afraid that African workers living permanently in urban areas will learn too much too quickly.

If wise policies are not yet pursued in African mining areas, it is not for want of knowledge or direction. Twenty years ago, when the copper belt was beginning production, the Merle Davis commission, which included two Americans, described the social problems connected with this economic development. In 1946 the Labor government's Colonial Office in London issued a White Paper on colonial mining policy, full of admirable sentiments: "The rate of development and exploitation should have regard to social as well as economic considerations. . . . Provision should be made for the indigenous people to fit themselves for the highest technical and administrative posts. . . . An adequate share of the proceeds of mining should be retained in a colony." Public ownership of mineral rights and royalties should be properly safeguarded. But these noble principles have rarely, if ever, received from colonial governments and mining corporations more than the tribute of a smile—or a shudder. The White Paper has been buried and forgotten.

No more than other people will Africans be handed human rights and fundamental freedoms on a platter by benevolent foreign rulers and investors. World opinion can no doubt play its part, but in the long run the world helps those who help themselves. The hopeful fact is that African faces are turned in the right direction for progress and African feet have begun to stumble along the hard, winding road that leads to the summit where racial freedom and social justice are plainly visible.

THE CONGO TRAGEDY

The Americans' Early Role . . *by Robert Wuliger*

London

THE situation in the Belgian Congo is the direct outgrowth of the region's history. In 1876, Leopold II of Belgium organized and assumed the presidency of the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa. When Stanley, the great African explorer, was unable to interest British capital or officialdom in the lower Congo, he turned to Leopold, who sent him back to Africa to stake claims for the association. A few years later the United States recognized the association as an "independent state." Bismarck's Berlin conference of 1885, summoned to straighten out European conflicts in Africa, admitted Leopold's claims but called for free trade, the "moral well-being" of the natives, and suppression of the slave trade. King Leopold's "exclusive mission" it declared, was "to introduce civilization and trade into the center of Africa." Thus the black sheep of the Coburg family became trustee for one million square miles of African territory and guardian of some twenty million Africans.

By 1892 Leopold's drive for rubber and ivory had established an imperialism that was to become and remain the worst —because it was the biggest and richest —in Africa. Soon protests began to boil up from missionaries, muscled-out merchant-adventurers, reformers. Stanley was nauseated; Sir Charles Dilke, an enlightened imperialist, tried to stir up British opinion; the New York *Nation* spoke.

In February, 1904, the British Foreign

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Office released the report of its consul at Boma, Roger Casement, corroborating and augmenting tales that most middle- and upper-class Europeans had refused to believe. Casement described the forced labor by which European fortunes were being made, to be invested in enterprises depending on more forced labor in China, South America, and elsewhere. The grandfathers of the Africans who today swing picks, operate Bucyrus-Erie buckets, handle air hammers, and drive trucks in the Congo mines had to gather their quotas of rubber from the wild vines or have their hands chopped off, their genitals severed, their villages burned down, their children murdered. The grandmothers of the women who today pick the cotton, work on Lever Brothers' oil-palm plantations, and bring their children to the church schools to be taught what is considered good for them were tortured, murdered, raped, and driven into brothels for King Leopold's native soldiers or his white agents. Villages were wiped out, the land was expropriated, the communal society was destroyed. Roger Casement, who knew Africa from twenty years earlier, estimated a decline in population of three million by 1904. During the next eight years there was an estimated loss of at least another three million.

A vigorous movement for Congo reform now grew up in England. It was headed by E. D. Morel, an energetic, courageous humanitarian who fought Leopold's immense political machine for eight years. When it seemed, in 1906, as if Morel might be able to enlist American cooperation, one of Leopold's American advertising agents, an ex-patent-medicine lawyer named Henry Wellington Wack, suggested that for safety's sake it might be well to cut in some big American money. J. P. Morgan met Leopold at Dover. Thomas Fortune Ryan and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., saw him at Brussels. In November, 1906, Ryan's and Daniel Guggenheim's American Congo Company obtained a ninety-nine-year option to collect rubber "and other vegetable products" over 4,000 square miles, plus a ten-year option to buy 2,000 square miles of territory. (In 1921 the company traded the forest monopoly rights for full title to 386 square miles and ninety-one years' exclusive rights to mines discovered in additional territory—where it found diamonds.)

American financiers also organized the Société Internationale Forestière et Minière du Congo, known as Forminière, which obtained a ninety-nine-year monopoly on all mines discovered within six years in a district covering half the Congo Free State. King Leopold and his Belgian bankers and collaborators cut themselves in for big slices in every concession and option.

HEARST'S New York *American* of December 10-14, 1906, printed the whole story, along with exposés of Belgian bribes to Representatives and Senators, of Belgian academic front-men sent on lecture junkets to hoodwink American professors, of the use of the Roman Catholic hierarchy—including Cardinal Gibbons, who later recanted—to dignify the racket. August Belmont had represented Leopold for a while but apparently missed out on the big thing. According to the *American,* the principal members of the United States group were Ryan, James D. Stillman, Edward B. Aldrich (son of Nelson W. Aldrich, Republican leader in the Senate, and brother of Winthrop W. Aldrich, Mr. Eisenhower's ambassador to the Court of St. James's), the Guggenheim brothers, J. P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Rockefeller denied membership. Another source adds John Hays Hammond and Harry Payne Whitney to the participants. "Ryan and his associates, by the mere purchase of stock," said the *American,* "thus became part rulers over an empire larger than all of New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and half of Pennsylvania."

Morel's agitation for Congo reform, which had behind it most of the British press, the Anglican and Non-Conformist churches, the majority of intellectuals and labor, was also supported by Belgian liberals and labor. In addition, by 1914 the growth of plantation rubber, the collapse of world prices, and King Leopold's wasteful methods of collection had finished the Congo wild-rubber industry. By this time, however, Katanga copper had begun to yield its fabulous riches, and tin, diamonds, gold, silver, tungsten, manganese, uranium, palm oil, timber, and coffee were on the way. Since then the tyranny of King Leopold has given way to a "benevolent despotism" under which Congo labor enjoys many benefits—but neither political freedom nor a chance for higher education.

The proletariat of the Congo compounds is still the Achilles heel of the "free world." For every white man in the Belgian Congo there are 208 blacks, each a human being, with wants, feelings, and ambitions. So far the Bantu drive for opportunity has been kept in check by rigid police methods combined with a number of economic concessions. But American soldiers stationed in the Congo during the war taught the natives that there was a third class of human beings besides masters and helots—democrats; just as British tommies who shared cigarettes with Kikuyus helped to crack tradition in Kenya.

Nationalist rumblings from the Gold Coast, Tunisia, Morocco, and Natal have been heard in the Congo. Mau Mau crosses borders. Asian revolution is not an Asian secret. Many African students attend European universities, and some of them return home. The golden age of colonial exploitation is beginning to fade in the Congo as elsewhere in Africa.

AFRICA'S PRODUCTION OF STRATEGIC MATERIAL

	1937	*1951*
Antimony	1,400	18,551
Bauxite	51,000*	35,000
Chrome	210,800	396,300
Cobalt	3,000	7,109
Copper	423,600	550,500
Lead	52,100	149,900
Manganese	591,900	948,000
Tungsten	300	581
Uranium	(figures not available)	
Zinc	37,000**	158,900**

*1942
**Includes North Africa

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

The French Presidential Election

Paris

Paris, December 21

AS THIS is cabled, the new President of France has not yet been named. But the real significance of the voting is not to be found in the final result but in the ballots which preceded it. Why did Georges Bidault, chairman of the M. R. P., receive so small a vote in the first ballot? Because for many years his party has been largely responsible for a foreign policy the wisdom of which is gravely doubted by many sections of both the right and the left. Why did Naegelen, who belongs to a Socialist Party which officially supports E. D. C., and who has been under bitter criticism for his former governorship of Algeria, remain Laniel's most dangerous rival until the last minute? Because Naegelen, like Jules Moch, Daniel Mayer, and others among the Socialists, are critical of their own party's stand on E. D. C.

Versailles witnessed a revolt against a foreign policy whose only justification, the fear that the Russians might one day march into France, has disappeared. The balloting also represented a revolt against Anglo-American treatment of France as a second-rate power. Neither Dulles nor Eisenhower nor Churchill, all of whom sought to hurry France into ratification, succeeded in budging those Frenchmen who want no part of a foreign policy which is dictated from any foreign quarter.

The merit of Versailles was that it etched these basic problems even more sharply than did the Assembly debate which preceded the Bermuda conference. The Gaullist Senator Michel Debrès put it bluntly: "Even if the treaty [the E. D. C.] is ratified, that will not be the end of the agitation; it will only be the beginning." It would be wrong to say that the European army alone, and not the usual play of politics, determined developments at Versailles. But the rearmament of Germany dominated the voting to the point where France's new President will have to keep it forever in mind.

The new President will not have an easy job. As soon as he takes office he will face extremely serious problems of foreign and domestic policy. In the domestic sphere, he will have to deal with a working class grown more and more resentful over an economic situation marked by continued low wages and high prices. The only way to put the French economy on a healthy basis would be to carry out an economic plan along the intelligent lines proposed by Pierre Mendès-France and inspired by far-reaching ideas of social justice. Along with other reforms, such a plan would include heavy cuts in military expenditures, both for the war in Indo-China and the demands of NATO. In the sphere of foreign policy, pressure for a radical change is sure to increase in 1954 and in the years to come. The European army, so far as France is concerned, is already dead. A decision will be taken next spring; but the Kremlin will have to make many blunders to create enough opinion favorable to E. D. C. to bring about its ratification.

THE ACTUAL state of affairs is in direct conflict with current official declarations. The new President will have to take into account the general demand for a foreign policy directed above all toward preventing the military resurgence of Germany. The more the other Atlantic partners press France to accept a rearmed Germany the more the French are turning toward their traditional alliances. Moscow understands the French mood very well and is taking advantage of popular resentment over the treatment of the French representatives at Bermuda to appeal for vitalization of the Franco-Soviet pact of 1944. Numerous signs indicate that Moscow has decided not to spare any effort to attract France to its side in a common front against the rearmament of Germany.

France feels that it was treated like a naughty child at Bermuda. The furor in the French National Assembly during the debate on the European army was brushed aside and the support of German rearmament considerably strengthened. France, so anxious to put an end to its costly sacrifices in the Far East, was told not only to get on with the Indo-Chinese war but to step up its effort. French diplomacy, which has always doubted the wisdom of the American policy of "liberation," saw this policy sanctioned, however indirectly, in a document signed by all three Western powers. "The Bermuda communiqué," H. de Garland writes in this week's *Observateur,* "could have been signed by James Burnham instead of Laniel."

While the new President was being elected, senators, deputies, and everybody exercising any influence in French political life were affected by a world situation dominated by two contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, international tension has undoubtedly diminished; on the other, the potential gravity of the outlook is increased by the attitude of Mr. Dulles and the growing American emphasis on atomic strategy. These factors, together with the Bermuda communiqué, were ill calculated to prepare the ground for an enthusiastic reception by Moscow of President Eisenhower's proposal of an atomic-energy pool. However, Russia's cool reaction to the proposal does not mean, in the opinion of sharp observers, that the Kremlin may not one day accept it as a basis of discussion. Much will depend on the course taken by the Berlin conference.

While this uncertainty persists France has a mission of conciliation to perform. In spite of Bermuda the French can exercise decisive power over the future structure and policy of Western Europe. They can tilt the balance one way or the other in Western dealings with both Germany and Russia. Whether the election of December 17 will be viewed as a piece of good fortune or bad largely depends on the success with which France undertakes this mission in the months ahead.

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BOOKS

A Testament for Our Time

THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES. Volume I. *THE FIRST THOUSAND DAYS, 1933-1936.* Simon and Schuster. $6.

By Bruce Catton

THERE probably is very little chance that the soothsayers of the Eisenhower Administration will look for lessons, guiding principles, or significant texts in the writings of the late Harold Ickes. The Administration is heading away from the Ickes tradition as fast as it can travel, and if its assault on the Department of the Interior has stopped short of actually dismantling the department's building, it has not stopped far short of anything else. The Ickes doctrine was fairly rigid, and it could not easily be adapted to the requirements of the Great Crusade.

So it is improbable that the upper echelon in the present Administration will bother to read the exasperating, fascinating, and profoundly enlightening diary which has just been published, and it seems a pity. For while Mr. Ickes's ideas on water power, the public domain, and the use which the private citizen is entitled to make of his federal government would hardly be comprehensible to any of the officials now in Washington, his discussion of the basic technique required of a successful government executive is something this Administration could read with profit.

Mr. Ickes was the Great Curmudgeon to be sure, he was the sardonic gifted phrase-maker who made everybody mad at him, he was the very archetype of the public servant who carries undeviating honesty almost to the point of excess; but the thing that so often gets overlooked about the man is that on top of everything else he was a prodigious political asset to the New Deal—the most solid and enduring asset, probably, that it ever had in the Cabinet. And the point is that he became such an asset, not merely because he was consistently on the side of the people as opposed to the big interests—the New Deal had many men who stayed courageously on that side but remained political liabilities rather than assets—but also because he was first, last, and all the time a superb government administrator.

The distinction is worth making. The qualities that make a successful administrator in Washington are not easy to tabulate. Perhaps they are tabulated differently by different men; certainly they are not merely the qualities that bring success to an executive in a large industrial corporation. They include driving force, organizing ability, the other familiar executive virtues; but also they must include a certain be-damned-to-you quality, a cold courage which enables its possessor to hew to the line he has laid out for himself regardless of the consequences, a stubborn insistence that the man to whom responsibility has been given must have and must constantly exercise the authority which goes with responsibility.

AN ADMINISTRATION which seems forever anxious to disarm its opponents by an excessive amiability could profitably study how Mr. Ickes did it. For instance: the year 1933 had not ended before Mr. Ickes was colliding with powerful members of his own party, in the executive and legislative branches, who wanted to tell him how to staff and operate the Department of the Interior. He refused to knuckle under to them, and in his diary he wrote:

> If I permit some of these politicians to get the idea that they can shove me around, they will not only do it but others will join them in the exercise. After all, so long as I am head of this department I am going to run it, subject only to the President's expressed wishes. I don't propose to take any orders from Assistant Secretaries or Secretaries, or United States Senators.

He had just been having a brush with Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, an extremely powerful man who was both willing and able to make life tough for an Interior Secretary who defied him, and who wrote Mr. Ickes a letter saying about as much. In his diary the Secretary remarked:

> He will be much less likely to make trouble if he knows that I am not only able but willing to fight back than if I take such a letter as he wrote me lying down.

As Public Works Administrator, Ickes had trouble with important Democratic governors. Governor Ely of Massachusetts, for instance, in the summer of 1933 was demanding that all municipal public-works projects in Massachusetts be funneled through the state government, on the ground that municipalities were simply the creatures of the state and that the federal government was little more. Ely called, long-distance, to argue the point: "He became pretty angry . . . and told me that he would take a public position against the federal government if I persisted in my opposition. I told him to go ahead."

Harold L. Ickes

A good administrator must not only repel encroachments from without; he must constantly be ready to assert the integrity of his control within the national Administration and within his own organization. Before he could make the Public Works Administration effective Mr. Ickes had to knock down the ears of his advisory board, which showed a tendency to try to decide things for him. He had to whittle his own deputy down to size when that official began assuming control over the organization. And he had to go to the White House, posthaste, to do battle when the Budget Director and Comptroller General ob-

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tained an executive order giving them a veto power over approved public-works projects. He got the order rescinded.

Now there was a great deal more to all of this than simply living up to the curmudgeon likeness which this irascible man had created for himself. In actions like these Mr. Ickes was fighting for the ability to do a decent job. He won his fight, and during the next twelve years he won many more like them, and as a result there never was the slightest question in any government operation presided over by Mr. Ickes about who was boss. He was, and it was always perfectly clear that whenever he could no longer run his own show he would get out. Unquestionably, he was often a sore trial to his associates in the Cabinet; but in the end, simply because he understood so clearly what it takes to do a government job properly, he was a political asset of very solid proportions.

Which is a lesson that could profitably be studied in Washington today. The men who might study it would have no use at all for most of the things Mr. Ickes tried to do, but they could learn much by examining the way he did them.

In the Ickes creed, for instance, there would be no attempt to appease a destructive Senator by letting him put his own men in key spots in a department he was attacking. Officials of Cabinet or near-Cabinet rank would not be rushing to and fro, vibrant with anxiety, to issue joint statements with their most malignant critics. The Administration as a whole would not be driven to the fatuity of trying to overshadow McCarthy by adopting McCarthy's tactics. The Ickes creed was simpler, and infinitely more effective—"he will be much less likely to make trouble if he knows that I am not only able but willing to fight back."

For the instructive thing about the Ickes way of doing things is that it pays off politically. It works; people like it; courage and uncompromising integrity have an enduring sheen which—who knows?—might even come through on television. Mr. Ickes understood that in American politics you get lasting popularity not by seeking it but by doing a job. When Hugh Johnson was resigning as NRA head, Mr. Ickes made a comment that seems contemporary:

> The first part of his job he did well. . . . He aroused enthusiasm throughout the country, he was a past master at carrying on the type of ballyhoo campaign that was necessary . . . but when it came to settling down to administrative work he seemed to be a total loss. He never appeared to be able to get out of his head that it wasn't all to be ballyhoo. He was so used to streaming headlines on the front pages of the papers that he had to keep reaching for these headlines.

All in all, this fantastic diary—fantastic not merely for frankness, but for its prodigious length—is a testament of uncommon value for our time. Unfortunately, it probably will never be read by the men who could most quickly profit by it.

The Black Man Awakens

STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA. By Vernon Bartlett. Frederick A. Praeger. $3.95.

By Ernest B. Kalibala

MR. BARTLETT has done a commendable job in "The Struggle for Africa." This is not as simple as it sounds, for there are three sides to the struggle—the two hundred million blacks, the four million whites in Africa, and the Western world. The major trouble with the book is that it is weighted down by historical considerations, mostly bearing on South Africa, many of which are of no immediate importance to the struggle.

In the foreword the reader is told that the information on which the author based his conclusions was obtained from existing "official" documents, colonial administrators, and European settlers. In the list of consultants no black Africans are included. This means that what is said of the African's side is said about him, for him, but not by him. The author, a brilliant Englishman, has found it rather difficult to present an impartial thesis.

The collapse of the European empires in Asia and the subsequent nationalistic demands in Africa are the major problems facing the West, particularly the United States and the United Nations. Mr. Bartlett has made an honest attempt to assess the second, but his treatment leaves the reader just about where he started. The discussion covers such a large territory, encompassing a whole range of multiform problems, that it fails to analyze the basic factors behind the new and emerging Africa.

For the sake of a background the reader should recall the three important periods of Africa's varied relationship with Europe and the white man. The first period covers the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which the European powers explored and colonized Africa. Each European power joined in the "scramble" for African territory and wealth. The use of the word "scramble" as contrasted with "struggle" is important, revealing a profound disrespect for human dignity. This period was characterized by its inhuman approach; the black man was treated as part of Africa's "raw material"—pure and simple.

The second period covered part of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. The campaign of "scramble" terminated in the peaceful partition of Africa. The European powers, meeting in Berlin in 1884, agreed to divide Africa into spheres of influence and let each power exploit its particular area. After the partition a ruthless campaign to exploit the people, land, and raw materials of Africa was undertaken, lasting until the middle of the twentieth century. Mr. Bartlett's "Struggle for Africa" deals with this third and the most difficult of the periods in which Africa has had a formal relationship with Europe.

With the advent of the second half of the twentieth century, Africa finds itself, as Mr. Bartlett eloquently states, in the world spotlight. The black man has awakened from his slumber and has initiated a mass movement for the purpose of recovering his land and his human dignity. However, from the data in Mr. Bartlett's book the reader will not be able to assess the gravity and the importance of this struggle, especially

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in its psychological aspect. Rather, the facts chosen are those which show the white man attempting to reinforce his strategic position to meet the new crisis.

THE FACT IS, Mr. Bartlett has fallen into two serious mistakes about Africa. First, through failing to analyze objectively the struggle for Africa, he has unintentionally written two books in one. The first includes pages 1 to 98. In this book, weighted down with historical material on the native policies of South Africa, the Congo, the Rhodesias, and Kenya, he presents the familiar picture of the black man as a child of nature. He wastes valuable pages discussing the old pattern in which Africans appear as lying, lazy, untrustworthy, undependable fellows, not yet ready for self-government—all without careful consideration of the new ruling spirit in Africa today.

Mr. Bartlett's second mistake is to confuse history with archaeology. He writes: "The absence of an African history must always remain a mystery. . . . Africa bears practically no traces of an indigenous civilization. . . ." This is a misleading formulation. It is not that there is no indigenous civilization or history in Africa. It is that the author could not expect to find them by devoting his "research" mostly to settlers, government officials, government documents. He was looking for an African history and civilization identical in substance and terminology with that of Europe. Where there are people there must be history and civilization, but Mr. Bartlett covered the length and breadth of Africa without consulting an African on these matters.

What is more interesting in the first ninety-eight pages is that Mr. Bartlett, no doubt unconsciously, is writing to please the settlers in East and South Africa. His reluctance to state plainly the problems facing the black man in this area can hardly be excused in our atomic age. His discussion of the "background to Mau Mau" does not indicate the impartial mind of a student of sociological factors.

The second book in "Struggle for Africa" takes up the "progress" made by the black man in West Africa, beginning with Nigeria. This section, by contrast, seems to have been written to please the Africans, perhaps because the region has no European population worth mentioning. Here the author was very much surprised: "I had not expected the customs and other officials to be Africans." This comment is revealing. It shows that the author had written off the black man's part in the struggle for Africa. But what he saw in West Africa convinced him of the immensity of the battle ahead. He does, however, take very lightly such movements as the Morocco-Tunis drive for self-determination in the North, the Mau Mau attacks in East Africa, and the civil disobedience in South Africa.

In his discussion of South Africa the author makes an interesting comparison of the policies of Smuts and Malan. He feels that Smuts's policy, while one of reluctant concession, was more pliable and, above all, more humane—it left the black man with some hope of better times to come. The Malan policy, he says, has "destroyed that hope." In this reviewer's opinion the contrary is true. The Malan policy is one of the gigantic forces that is generating power for African unity. Smuts's policy was not humane; it gave the black man false hope and permanent insecurity, while making it very difficult for him to take a stand. The Malan policy is direct, firm, forceful, but ill-conceived. It challenges not only the black man but the whole free world. The issue is joined, and this is an advantage, since the struggle could never have been won through the Smuts formula.

THE AUTHOR'S reference to brown men in a black land, meaning, of course, the Indian population, is very interesting. But here also he seems to be speaking about the Indian of the last century, not the independent and militant Indian who is cooperating with the African today. A great deal of consideration should be given this new African-Indian relationship and the effect it will have on the future of Africa and, in particular, of the white man in Africa. Mr. Bartlett does not deal with it adequately or realistically.

The book analyzes briefly the problems of the white settlers in the Congo, Portuguese Africa, and Spanish Africa. There is little information that is new about these areas, except perhaps about the Congo. Further, the author mentions higher education in Africa but does not record the fact that almost 99 per cent of the black population is illiterate and that for the two hundred million blacks there are about five colleges—each "serving" some forty-odd million people!

One significant and most creditable point about "Struggle for Africa" is that Mr. Bartlett has not tried to fasten communism to every phase of the struggle. Some "experts" on Africa today read communism into everything that happens in that continent. Mr. Bartlett has avoided this silly business, analyzing the situation as it is, although with a slight slant in favor of the white settlers. However, it is very surprising to note that he has ignored the role of the United States and the United Nations in the struggle for Africa, two parties exerting unlimited power over the emerging Africa.

Mr. Bartlett's book is recommended for its sincerity and range. But the struggle for Africa is bigger. It is not just the struggle of the white man and black man in Africa. It is a world-wide struggle to stamp out tyranny, slavery, and disregard of human rights. The fight against colonialism is as important to the black man as the struggle against communism is to the white man. Get rid of these two C's and the free world will breathe more freely.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

WITH the Margaret Webster–José Ferrer production of "Richard III" the City Center drew a blank. It was not a bad production; it simply did not exist. The fault is not to be laid to anyone's account—except to those who believed that it is possible to do such a play with only two weeks of rehearsal.

Three and a half weeks, the usual time allotted nowadays for the preparation of most plays, are barely adequate for any but the simplest contemporary play; five weeks for a play by Shakespeare are, I believe, pitifully insufficient. No wonder, then, that "Richard III" struck me as a kind of insecure rehearsal in which a group of talented actors made a passable attempt to suggest an intelligent—though I must say sometimes vulgar—reading of the play.

An ordinary play presented in this fashion would be considered unprofessional, to say the least, but because Shakespeare is Shakespeare—that is, both an unkillably eloquent dramatist and one whose style, temper, and meaning are hardly understood by most American producers and directors, not to mention the public—a group of able showfolk has the hardihood or effrontery to venture into production of "Richard III" with so little preparation.

THE "ALMANAC" of John Murray Anderson (Imperial Theater) struck me as a rather mediocre revue—though I do not insist on this opinion. With light entertainment, one's reactions are extremely modifiable, and dogmatism in the matter is rarely justified.

Only one number, a sketch called "Dinner for One" by Laurie Wylie, in which Hermione Gingold and Billy de Wolfe, the show's stars, appear, had a special touch of originality. It is a hilarious bit of grotesquerie difficult to describe because of a certain eerie, comic imaginativeness. Orson Bean, a likably casual entertainer, interpolated into his patter an informal ditty called "Merry Little Minuet," about the self-destructive bent of our world today, which was surprising and, one might almost say, refreshing in its cynical pessimism. I also liked Jean Kerr's sketch, "John Brown's Body," largely, I suppose, because it parodied the absurdities of last season's reading of "John Brown's Body" and seemed very much like an illustration of my review of it.

For the rest, though there were pleasant moments here and there, I found very few examples of sensuous beauty, memorable tunes, extraordinary fun. Where, oh where, are the days we could see Fannie Brice, Eddie Cantor, Will Rogers, all surrounded by softly lush and unabashedly seductive girls? "Almanac" is set forth in a framework of good taste resembling an expensive Fifth Avenue shop-window display—a meager substitute for luxuriant theatricality.

Films

Manny Farber

THE LIVING DESERT" is a full-length color film on locales familiar to cowboy and foreign-legion films; only here treatment of them has been refreshingly reversed. All these places—Death Valley, Monument Valley, Salton Sea, Yuma's sand dunes—have usually been pictured as uninhabited, quiet regions that run to sandy tints and encourage peaceful contemplation. Disney's desert is a wild, forbidding land swarming with antagonistic animals, violent loves, seductive dances, oddly matched fights, weird victory celebrations, and enough terror stuff to unnerve any city-bred animal lover. The unusual thing about Disney's photography is that it is so close to the various creatures that you get, in clear jewel-like tones, the incredible ugliness of animal parts—a thin, hairy rat's leg, the pugnacious and grotesquely shaped head of a wild pig, the worm-like contour of a centipede's body.

This documentary drama fascinates but at the same time arouses suspicion. It is hard to believe in some of the shots. In one episode the camera is somehow wheeled into the network of underground tunnels built by a kangaroo rat, where it watches a mother rat struggle to save her offspring from a visiting snake. The camera must have been pulled through those tiny passages with a sewing thread. Most of the episodes are put together with bits and pieces of photography in which the character of the lighting changes enough to make you wonder about the consecutiveness of the action, and there are so many varying shots within each episode that you can almost hear the echo of the editor's scissors.

In all, Disney's picture has its thrilling moments—as when it shows a tortoise moving like a bulging, clanking intruder from medieval times—but it tends to repeat itself in savagery and reveal too many animals who move around in the sentimental dance rhythms of a Hollywood musical.

THE SECOND CINEMASCOPE production, "How to Marry a Millionaire," is a mildly amusing comedy about three girls using an elaborate Sutton Place trap to catch millionaires. The very wide screen in Cinemascope may prove to be a death-trap for Hollywood stars, since it brings out every physical and personality trait. In this case it emphasizes some unmanly aspects of the leading male actor, shows up the excessive make-up on Miss Monroe, and makes it clear that Grable hated the picture. The wide screen also encourages Hollywood directors to traffic in panoramic shots. The film has more stock shots of highways, bridges, and mountain landscapes than intimate shots of the stars. And unlike Cinerama, the new Zanuck technique adds little if any three-dimensional excitement to the vast shots of terrain; so that this film amounts to one well-acted gag (Marilyn Monroe's near blindness) and a few bright lines surrounded by dead landscapes and uninteresting masses of interior decoration.

"The Man Between" is a classroom example of suspenseful British movie-

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making, replete with fuzzy, smog-colored photography, actors who look as if they could use a more robust way of life, and a choppy story line. Carol Reed's man hunt in post-war Berlin is more entertaining than any other current film, but it seems a case of a good director standing still, relying a bit too much on clichés. The scratchy photography of wintry European streets has become an accepted synonym for good naturalistic lens work.

Reed saves his melodrama with innumerable tricks that give "The Man Between" a certain amount of sentiment, humor, and photographic interest. Mason's thin body and dental work are made into touching items, as though they were brought on by impoverishing war conditions. His brief affair with Miss Bloom, carried on over rooftops, in fleeing automobiles, and up and down a ragged-looking construction job, is constantly turned away from the mechanics of a chase melodrama into something more tender and interesting. It is done with techniques that remind you of "The African Queen." All the miss-matching qualities in Bloom and Mason are emphasized in ways that add schmaltz and a bit of truth to their love affair. Where Bogart was forever being comically expert with his broken-down steamboat, Mason shows off in various ways as a Berlin gadabout. To the long-winded conversations that recall Huston's film Reed adds his own pattern-happy talent with a camera and a light comic touch that he has not used since his low-budget days. All in all, an ingratiating movie.

Records

B. H. Haggin

HERE is a report on recent piano recordings:

A group of engaging Scarlatti sonatas, the pleasant Handel Suite No. 5 (with the "Harmonious Blacksmith" variations), and the—to me—uninteresting Bach Partita No. 6 are played with his usual finesse by Gieseking (Columbia).

The best two of the Scarlatti group, L. 23 and 413, are played also by Lipatti with more enlivening inflection; and his beautiful playing of his instrument and of music are wasted on Ravel's "Alborada del gracioso" and Liszt's Sonetto del Petrarco No. 104 (Columbia).

Mozart's fine Sonata K.448 for two pianos is played deftly by Luboshutz and Nemenoff on a record with some less consequential pieces (Remington).

One of Mozart's lesser sonatas, the popular K.331, and the best-known and engaging Nos. 1 and 7 of Haydn are played agreeably by Leonid Hambro (Remington).

On a record with Gieseking's fine performance of Schumann's "Carnaval" are a post-war performance of Mozart's little Sonata K.545 which makes a lovely thing of this ubiquitous student piece, and the 1938 performance of the Sonata K.457, whose dubbed sound is good (Columbia).

Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations are played by Julius Katchen with complete technical adequacy and musical sensitiveness which produce satisfying statements of all but the few variations that give the work its stature: No. 20, in which Beethoven's mind attains one of the remotest points in those "strange seas of thought" Sullivan speaks of; and the powerfully expressive Nos. 29 and 31, which call for more powerful inflection (London). I suppose the few still, distant chords that follow the vehement fugue of No. 32 and are followed by the concluding apotheosis of No. 33 are an example of what to Horowitz's ears is a mere groping for something that is not achieved—and what in fact is writing that realizes with precision a meaning beyond Horowitz's understanding.

Schubert's lovely Sonata Op. 42 gets a performance by Kempff that tends to make delicate and small what—by the evidence of Schubert's directions—should be strong and large (London).

Menahem Pressler plays the "Pagodes" of Debussy's "Estampes" very beautifully, the "Soirée dans Grenade" without suppleness and grace, the "Jardins sous la pluie" more adequately. On the same record are the Suite bergamasque and other sugary early pieces and "La

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fille aux cheveux de lin," over which Pressler gets excessively sentimental (MGM).

Gieseking's excellent pre-war performances of "Estampes," sounding a little dim, and dubbed from noisy copies, have been put on a record with the recently issued performances of Debussy's "Images" (Columbia; with the pre-war performance of Ravel's "Gaspard de la nuit").

Perhaps Stravinsky's Concerto (1935) and Sonata (1941) for two pianos call for drier and sharper playing than Bartlett and Robertson's; but of what I heard I liked only the variation movement of the concerto. The humorously discordant Trois Pièces faciles (1915) and Cinq Pièces faciles (1917) are also on the record (MGM).

There is no mistaking the mastery that operates in the fitting together of the sounds in Copland's Piano Variations (1930) and Piano Sonata (1941); but as at previous hearings the ear-battering fitted-together sounds say nothing to me. Less original but more communicative is the Passacaglia (1922). Webster Aitken's performances seem excellent (Walden).

Janacek's piano music, played well by Firkusny, I find uninteresting (Columbia). And the same for the organ pieces by modern composers played by Richard Elsasser (MGM).

The adaptation of the curved violin bow of Bach's time that Rolph Schroeder uses in his performances of Bach's six Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin enables him to produce chords and to play the music without the distentions necessitated by the modern bow; but the tone is less smooth, clear, and luminous—which is to say less attractive—than the tone produced with the modern bow. The performances are in excellent musical taste (Columbia).

I cared little for Prokofiev's Violin Sonata Op. 94 a few years ago, and even less for Op. 80; but listening to them again as played very well by Stern and Zakin I have found the first movement of Op. 80 more substantial and impressive this time, and the Andante movement and the lyric episode of the finale very lovely. Op. 94 still seems to me facile, except for the powerful episode in the finale that is reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C (Columbia).

On the other hand Bartok's Quartets Nos. 2 and 6, when I heard them again recently, still conveyed no meaning to me except for the obvious humor of the Burletta movement of No. 6. The occasion was the first of Alexander Schneider's series of chamber music concerts in Circle at the Square; and while the set-up of a small audience seated around and close to the players was very pleasant, one discovered that the little chairs were less comfortable for prolonged listening than the seats in a concert hall and the ventilation much worse than in the hall (two Bartok quartets in succession made these things especially noticeable), and one wondered whether is was because the tone of the Budapest Quartet was not being enriched by the resonating effect of a stage set that it was dry and unattractive. In all other respects, of course, the playing in the Bartok quartets and Beethoven's Op. 135 was superb.

In Town Hall a few days earlier the sound of the New Music Quartet was extraordinarily beautiful; and there were all the other qualities of first-rate ensemble playing in the service of the highest musicianship to make its performance of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet one of the finest in my experience. A quartet by d'Arriaga (1806-1826), the novelty of the concert, was not worth the playing lavished on it; nor was Ravel's Quartet.

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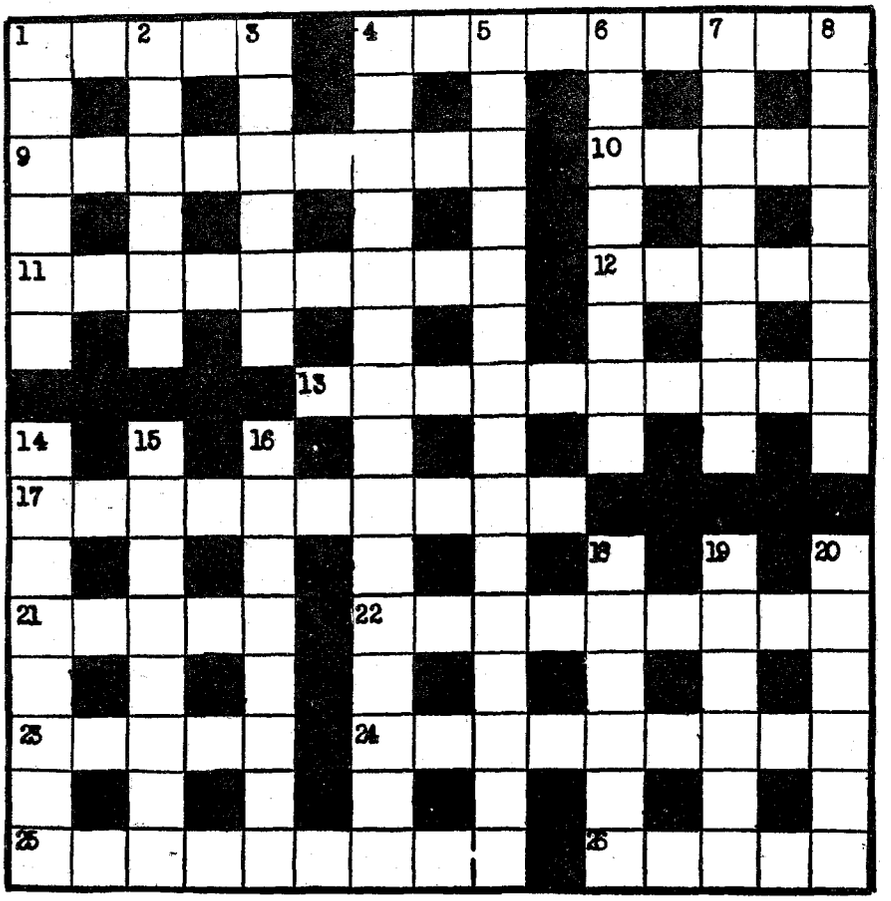

ACROSS

1 The shield of Zeus. (5)
4 Teller, found near court. (9)
9, 12 and 19 down. Enegidni? (3, 6, 2, 3, 6)
10 Turner might be a big shot in the office. (5)
11 He doesn't hold title. (9)
12 See 9.
13 The mistress has a talk with a legendary fair one. (10)
17 It's Sir Paul's music! (10)
21 The oldest one's father. (5)
22 The birthday M. composed a wild song. (9)
23 Ethan's title in Scotland. (5)
24 Only their opposite sides are equal. (9)
25 Red, as seen under the window, perhaps. (9)
26 As Fluellen said, "Ay, _____ is good." (5)

DOWN

1 Onset at a change of course. (6)
2 And taken as a matter of course in more ways than one! (6)
3 Such an 11 is not likely to lose the first beginning of 4. (6)
4 Ought to be found in a sort rode under those with their blades pointing down? (5-10)
5 A word of caution confused by Al Strong. (15)
6 This symphony doesn't signify the kind Hitler would have created. (3, 5)
7 Thrilling — perhaps, even shocking! (8)
8 Not quite delivered from pain, perhaps? (8)
14 Mineral, like finest bone. (8)
15 Changed into a rum sort of creature. (8)
16 A full course probably contains this 2. (8)
18 A sure sign it sounds like brass! (6)
19 See 9 across.
20 Sailors wrecked in the stormy sea. (6)

~●~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 546

ACROSS:—1 and 6 CARPENTER'S MATE; 10 ROASTED; 12 BETRAYED; 13 DANTE; 15 and 11 ON THE UP AND UP; 17 ENDANGERS; 19 SMALL ARMS; 21 ARSON; 23 STRAP; 27 NULLITY; 28 YTTRIUM; 29 ERNE; 30 BEAR GARDEN.

DOWN:—1 CARP; 2 REAGENT; 3 ESTER; 4 TEDDY BEAR; 5 ROUND; 7 ANDANTE; 8 EXPRESSING; 9 BANDANNA; 14 HORSE SENSE; 16 ELLIPSIS; 18 DESTROYER; 20 and 24 APRIL IN PORTUGAL; 22 SEA BIRD; 24 PAYEE; 25 ULTRA; 26 OMEN.

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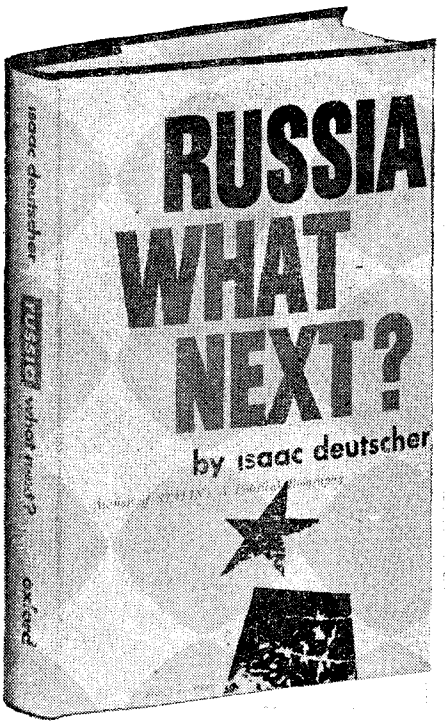

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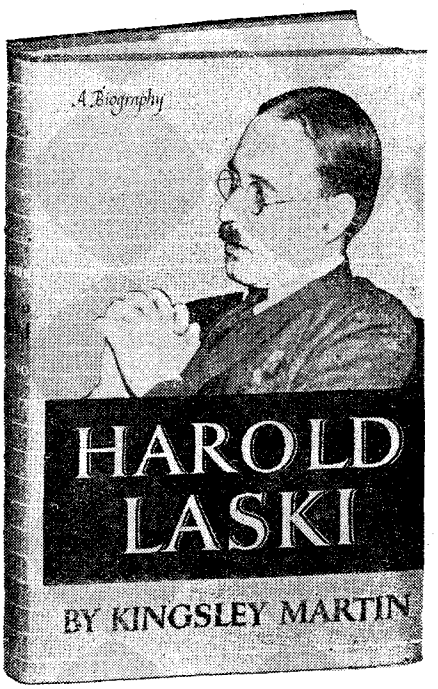

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